462 Among the Bahutu the man assumes the heavy work, construction of the rugo, and clearing of the land; the wife, helped by her husband and those children who are old enough, cultivates the fields. Domestic work is also shared: carrying water and wood, milking the cows, and making the beer are the husband's jobs, while the wife cooks, makes the butter, and keeps the rugo and kraal clean.

593 In a way marriage emancipates the munyarwanda woman, but
●842 only motherhood gives her the rights which make her a privileged person as compared to her sisters of Black Africa. The more children a woman has, the greater the esteem in which she is held (3).

[163]

3. Families with six, seven, eight, and even ten children are numerous in Ruanda; this prolificacy accounts for the fact that the country's population doubles in about twenty-five years.

593 The Mututsi wife is truly the nyirarugo (mistress of the house),
562 the nyirabuja (boss). Her husband consults her [28] in matters of interest, asks her advice on the subject of the children's marriages, etc. In addition, among the Batutsi, she directs the servants, supervises the work of the hill people who come to do the customary labor and also the work of the abagaragu. She cannot, however, dismiss a client or make any important decision without the consent of her husband. If she did so and the husband did not interfere, he would be the laughingstock of the neighborhood and he would be called inganzwa (man without character who is dominated by his wife).

The Banyarwanda have an expression to describe a good wife. They say that she "builds for her husband" (kubakira umugabo).

A Muhutu never fails to make use, on the slightest pretext, of his right of marital castigation. A Mututsi, on the contrary, cannot strike his wife without falling from esteem except for a very serious reason.

837 The duty of fidelity exists for both husband and wife. But custom is very tolerant of infractions of conjugal fidelity committed by the man, at least if he belongs to the same social class as the deceived husband.

837 The husband's adultery obviously displeases the wife but she
586 nearly always will accept it. However, she sometimes leaves her

586 or that the husband finds his wife to be capricious or disobedient. In such cases the couple can separate for a while (kwahukana). But this separation often makes them think it over; either the husband makes amends and fetches his wife from her parents, giving presents to the latter and to his wife (beer, cloth, or goats), or else the wife, realizing that she was in the wrong to leave her home, returns of her own will.

During the time of separation, the children, except nurslings, remain with the husband.

If an understanding is definitely impossible, divorce (kwahukana rwose, lit., to separate definitely) can be requested by one of the couple.

Causes of divorce in favor of the husband (repudiation) are: repeated adultery; dirtiness; negligence in the care of the household and the supervision of servants; the evil eye (1) that will cause illness

1. Cf. preceding page, note 1.

of the husband or cattle, and, above all, stubborn disobedience. [843] Sterility may be a cause for divorce, but if the husband is pleased with his wife he will keep her and merely take another who will be able to give him children.

Illness, even when prolonged, is not a cause for divorce. [34] If the marriage has been fruitful, the husband cannot take back the dowry, but keeps the indongoranyo he received from his father-in-law.

If there are no children, the husband who has received the indongoranyo is not authorized to claim the inkwano. He can do so, in the opposite case, but the wife's parents, in order to avoid this obligation, give him another of their daughters.

If the dowry has been paid in full, the children remain with their father, except those that have not been weaned.

The wife can ask for a divorce if the husband does not pay the dowry, does not provide her with cloth and ornaments, continually [761] ill-treats her, or if the children's, dying one after another makes her believe in the malevolent influence of her husband.

If there are children, the husband may keep the indongoranyo. In the opposite case, he takes back the dowry unless he has received the indongoranyo.

161 quartzite areas adjoining to the east, the latter are the more
[133] sterile and, for this reason, less populated and cultivated. [19]
One observes the same phenomenon in Ruanda. In the more
[311] humid areas where bananas are grown, the banana plantations
cover large areas and thus give the illusion of a relatively dense
population, whereas in fact only a few huts are to be found in
them.

592 The Batussi and Bahutu families are rather rich in chil-
dren, as in Ruanda. Individually the Batussi women are less
● [842] fertile than the Bahutu women, but in general there are seldom
fewer than three children in each family and in many cases
(among the Bahutu) between six and eight and correspondingly
more if the husband has several wives. Usually each married
couple lives with its children in a single hut. However, if
[595] there are many children or several wives, each mother lives
in a separate hut with her youngest children. Grandparents and
unmarried adults also have huts to themselves. Thus, there
are often between two and four residential huts and several huts
for grain and cattle in one kraal, or several fenced-in residential
huts plus outhouses are combined in one large homestead (see
Fig. 1).

361 The settlement pattern is that of individual establish-
ments, the fenced-in kraal, hamlet, courtyard (lugo, urugo).
Each homestead stands alone, surrounded by its fig trees and
its banana plantation if it is in the banana region (Plates
18, 21b). In most cases, however, there are several kraals
belonging to the extended family circle, situated next to each
other within calling distance so that village-like clusters
(ikisagara) are formed (see Fig. 2 and Plate 19a). Outside ex-
tend the fields. Of course, this is especially true for the
settlements of the Bahutu, for among the Batussi only the
poorest and lowest classes cultivate the fields. The kraals or
clusters of kraals belonging to the more prosperous Batussi are
scattered over the grassy pastures used by their cattle and sur-
rounded by high hedges of euphorbia and fig trees without
banana groves or fields. The distances between kraal clusters

595 afford it lives in polygamy in order to have workers to manage his property and to maintain his social position, in order to be able to associate with one wife when the other one is unapproachable during confinement, and for other reasons which are mainly of a practical and economic [109] nature rather than erotic. Thus, many Batussi have two wives, the bigger chiefs three or more, and the king has an entire harem. The Batwa, however, are almost all monogamous because of their poverty (No. 19, p. 447).

There is a widespread custom among the Bahima of Ankole and Kisiba whereby several brothers who are too poor to afford a wife individually pool their resources and buy one wife between them; the children belong to the oldest brother (No. 27, p. 105). This custom of polyandry is apparently very rare in Urundi.
[837] However, brothers of a family are often excessively intimate with their brothers' wives.

In Urundi each wife has her hut and her household in a separate kraal. Among prosperous Batussi two wives seldom live within the confines of one enclosure. Usually their houses are a long way from each other, whenever possible on different mountains. The husband is alternately the guest of one or the other. In polygamous families the wife by the first marriage is
[428] the head wife, and in matters of inheritance her children take precedence over other wives' children. In addition to regular marriages, concubinage with women of a lower social class exists.
[428] The concubine (umukeba, umugensi), although recognized
[563] socially, may be dismissed at any time and she and her children have no right of inheritance. Since Bahima wives are not very
[842] fecund, many Batussi men take Bahutu women, who are much more fecund, as concubines in order to increase the number of children in the household. This often happens in other Bahima states, and the consequence is that many Bantu in this area have a strong admixture of Bahima blood (No. 17, p. 631). Marriage
[583] on a temporary or trial basis is unknown among the Barundi;
548 marriages are, after all, contracted and dissolved so easily that such provisional unions are unnecessary.

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see
also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are
no special women's houses.

## 2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a
people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi,
probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force
available to the parents and the better are the prospects of
obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
[832] married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of
herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359).
As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is
particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the
husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove
the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is
induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions
made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret
science among the women, and the men do not appear to have
any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head
man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in
Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions
is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers
tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

Barrenness (ingumba) is
842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children 13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt, Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is
844 assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine
845 and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142 ; No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
[171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi, Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground with her back propped against one of the poles which support the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind. At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water, and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

776 king, the amulets, the oracle animals, the sacred spear, etc.
[178] (No. 19, p. 214). The same applies to Ruanda (No. 44, pp. 284; No. 39, pp. 102, 109). Imana is given a number of different names or is identified with other gods, depending on his different characteristics and functions. This is also true in
[551] Ruanda. Children are often given names which contain the word Imana: [121] Kaimana, little Imana; Mbonimana, gift of Imana; Ndorimana, appearance of Imana; Keschimana, ornament of Imana (No. 23, 1913, p. 308). Both men and
[842] women, if they wish to have offspring, wear an impusu y'Imana, a garment of Imana, made of reddish barkcloth with black circles painted on it. Imana is the supreme god of all manes, of all ancestral spirits, and thereby has the character of an old national god.

Although Imana as the sole creator of the world ranks high above the other gods, one nevertheless cannot describe this as a monotheistic concept of the Barundi, as is done by some missionaries (No. 44, p. 283). Nor is it correct to attempt to see a kind of "Trinity" in the fact that, besides Imana, the Barundi have two supreme gods, Rikiranga and Riangombe, whom they often identify or confuse with Imana (No. 19, p. 214). This is to put Christian interpretations on the matter, and these are foreign to the thinking of the Barundi.

It appears that Kiranga or Rikiranga ranks closest to Imana. If Imana is described as the supreme head of the high ancestral spirits, Kiranga is the ruler of all the lesser demons and of all things material. For this reason von der Burgt describes him as a kind of "logos payen" (No. 19, p. 216). He is the god to whom people appeal first for assistance in all worldly matters. It is Kiranga to whom the priestly cult of the crowds is devoted, to him the ceremony of the "sacred spear" is dedicated (see p. 134), and the high priest calls himself Kiranga for he is "possessed" by him, he is his medium (p. 123). To all appearances he is a deity of the old Bantu population and has remained
776 quite free of Batussi influence. The missionaries refer to
778 Kiranga as the "devil" (No. 23, 1904, p. 123). It is said that
793 near Mujaga in central Urundi Kiranga possesses two large herds

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42



## *Man and the Non-material World*

### *Imana, the Creator*

*Imana*, the creator, is a person. He is conceived as an intelligence, a will, an emotivity. He is extremely powerful: 'the plant protected by *Imana* is never hurt by wind', '*Imana* has very long arms', '*Imana* goes above any shield'. He is non-material. His action influences the whole world; but Ruanda is his home where he comes to spend the night. He is always invoked as 'God of Ruanda' (*Imana y'i Ruanda*).

*Imana* is essentially good: 'your enemy is digging a pitfall for you, *Imana* prepares your exit', '*Imana* gives, he does not sell'. This is why he takes care of men and why there is no cult in his honour. He is so good, I have been told, that he does not require any offering.

There is a special creative act of *Imana* at the beginning of each person's life. Impregnation in itself would not be sufficient to produce a new human being. This is why the young wife, at evening, leaves a few drops of water in a jar. *Imana*, as a potter, needs some water to shape the clay into a child in her womb. Then, after birth, *Imana* decides what life is to be for that individual: happy or unhappy. If, later on, a man is miserable, poverty-stricken, in bad health, it is said that he was created by *Ruremakwaci*. This way of speaking has led some observers to understand that besides *Imana*, there was another creator, perhaps subordinate, perhaps an evil spirit. As a matter of fact, *Ruremakwaci* is the name given to *Imana* when he does not create very successfully, when 'he is tired', or, for some inscrutable reason, decides that a certain destiny will be unhappy. This is consistent with the Ruanda linguistic habit of assigning different names to one cause according to its different effects.

*Imana's* influence is thought to be always beneficial for human beings. It happens very often that obstacles are placed in the way of his action by malevolent agencies of the invisible world, but from him only good things come. This is not completely consistent with the belief in an unfortunate predestination by *Imana*. It should be noted, first, that the theory of predestination has not a very deep impact on the attitude of Banyarwanda. A person who thinks himself unhappy, and might thus suspect that he has been predestined to a miserable life, does not seem to be submerged by a feeling of doom. Unless he is brought to despair by a situation from which there is no escape, he will go on living and trying to improve his condition. Secondly, this inconsistency will be better understood if we consider the attitude of Banyarwanda towards the king (the *Mwami*) in similar circumstances. The *Mwami*, the supreme authority is good, yet he may be harmful and cruel to some of his subjects. As his power is absolute, as he is magically identified with Ruanda itself, he may never be criticized. Thus the victims of some arbitrary royal decision, and their friends, go on saying that the king is good but that his favourite counsellor is very bad and is responsible for what they suffer. As might be expected, in Ruanda God is conceived

643 One hears of sovereigns who liked and practiced the "things
661 of the mind," such as Yuhi-Mazimpaka, whose literary output is still highly prized by Black intellectuals.

644 The king's wives and concubines lived away from the court. "Either he had noticed their beauty himself..., or their charms had been brought to his attention by the great who were sure to please him in so doing."

Among the reasons for the profusion of wives in the sovereign's harem, "the yearnings of the heart and the demands of the senses both played their part" above all else. Many a prince surrendered without restraint to voluptuous activities. Yet one hears of some romances adorned with the charms of literature which may actually have taken place.

842 It must be admitted in all fairness that a powerful idea presided over the establishment of the family among the Hamites. Like the Hebrews and so many other ancient peoples, the Batutsi regarded large numbers of children, and especially sons, as an honor, a glory, and a source of strength. They considered themselves fortunate if they could watch the growth of their children and their children's children to the third and fourth generations.

595 A large progeny seemed to them a sure guarantee for the future
578 of their race. Let us add that peace could not reign in their homes. For among the legitimate wives, there was almost invariably a favorite. "Competing among themselves, competing for their children, they drove the latter to rivalry, and the husband, following his preferences or giving way to his weakness, did not always share equitably his heart, his favors, and his goods." (1) /43/

1. The loved wife is called nkundwakazi, the hated wife mbikazi. A rival is called mukeba or umugore w'ishyari, that is to say, literally, "jealously woman /or wife/."

791 Those same "seekers," in their capacity as conjurer-magicians
789 have the power of staving off the results of spells and sorcery. For a fee, they will set physical and moral boundaries to the evil powers of other sorcerers. They do this by means of medicines (imiti) of their own creation, amulets (impigi), and tree branches with magical properties, which they bury or stick into the ground. Areas thus "closed" to the evil of spells remain for a long time inviolable havens. Henceforth, the owners of such immunized grounds have nothing to fear from bewitchers.

791 The Banyarwanda talk a great deal, by the hearth, about those conjurer-magicians and their high deeds.

In order to recover stolen objects, the Banyarwanda resort to the Banyerango (2). These do not inspire the same fear as their afore-

2. Abanyerango. This substantive is derived from the word kulangira, meaning "to show," "to uncover," and designates the sorcerer's trade. Hence the name irango given to the horn which he uses in his search.

mentioned colleagues, although they use the same magic horn. The
●[842] Bachunyi, or makers of grigris, chiefly specialize in bringing fertility to sterile women.

For a fee they sell amulets and magic beverages. Gossipers add that charlatans in this category often take advantage of their clients while the naïve husband, a small bell in hand, is sent to take a slow walk around the sorcerer's hut.

754 D. The curser-sorcerers (Abahenyi) are also held in high esteem. Their mission, like that of the false prophet Balaam, /396/
[644] is to curse the foes and annihilate their power to resist. Their chief, named Agakwande, enjoys high regard at court. His ancestors were simple Bahutu. It was on account of their important functions that they gradually made their way into the noble caste of the Batutsi, with whom they continually intermarried. They inhabit the Ndiza, at Bulembo, and form a powerful and formidable body. Their

754 just like the monstra, portenta, and other ill omens of Roman times.

In order to check an enemy invasion, the Banyarwanda formerly had the habit of leaving those abnormal beings to the blows of the invaders. The shedding of this blood, or even the mere presence of such individuals, was regarded as a curse.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the various methods of bewitchment and spell casting. The imagination of the Blacks is disproportionately fertile in this respect. The wealth of methods will [538] be /405/ appreciated when we recount the famous "Banyoro Invasion" tale, which has now become a traditional epic poem. Numerous incantations and much sorcery are mentioned in this narrative, and the eventual defeat of the invaders is ascribed to them.

754 842 10. Aglet knotters. It is rather surprising to find that the Blacks, too, believe in the evil influence of people to whom this kind of misdeed is ascribed.

Activities of this sort are called in the native language kumanikir' undi ngw'atabyara, "to tie up or check fecundity," or again, kubang' ingata, "to braid a grass pad."

As the etymological meaning of these words indicates, the grass knotters attempt to procure from the household of the people they wish to injure a handful of grass of the kind (ishinge) which is strewn upon the floor of the hut.

With it they braid a sort of pad (ingata), which is then hidden and hung in the hut.

So long as the grass remains knotted (in the pad), the mistress of the household cannot hope to become a mother.

Many young women ascribe their sterility to this /form of/ sorcery.

A handful of hair taken from a neighboring woman and braided [826] in the shape of a crown will have the same result. This is called kumuzingirahw'amasunzu, "to coil someone's hair."

The natives claim that it would also suffice for the ill-disposed to get hold of one of the vegetable-fiber rings which ladies or women of rank wear on their legs, and crumple it in their hands, for the unfortunate woman to become sterile or to die in childbirth.

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

[825] In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull, billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

784 [484] A traveler who stubs his left foot against an obstacle or who meets with a rat whose pelt is slightly mottled (umushushwe) must return home, lest misfortune come to him.

If one finds black ants (intozi) on one's path, he must draw his hand over his foot as though to remove them, lest they swarm into his hut.

[843] A pregnant woman must not see a European nor hear the sound of a gunshot, else the child she bears will suffer (1).

1. In order to neutralize this influence, she need only procure a cartridge case, a piece of paper, or even a piece of tile, brick, or any other object of European origin, and wear it around her neck as an amulet or talisman. The child will be born safe from injury.

[751]

[842] A woman who has borne only sons may not nurse the daughter of another woman, lest she bear nothing but girls from now on.

A man may not meet with his betrothed or with his mother-in-law prior to marriage (2). The king was formerly forbidden to see

[643]

2. Cf. "Cérémonies du mariage /Marriage Ceremonies/," by Fr. Pagès (Anthropos, 1925).

his sons, at least in theory, for it has been proved that the last monarchs often broke this rule.

If the manufacturer of banana wine insults someone while crushing the fruit, he runs the risk of contracting the scurfy disease (guhumana).

A woman must keep silent while kneading sorghum dough. If a dog or chicken dirties the floor of the hut, she is forbidden to leave her work and clean the spot, or the bread may shrink.

If the bottom bananas in a bunch ripen first, the owner of the grove worries because it means that a danger threatens him. /413/

784 [842] A young girl may not follow the path trodden by cows while her betrothal arrangements are being made. She must take another path in order not to risk becoming sterile.

When a hut is finished and covered with thatch, the wife of the hut's owner must bring into it with her own hands the household spatula, which, according to the customs of the land, is her own symbolic weapon and safeguard. The observation of this rite insures her of not being expelled from the hut and of living on good terms with her husband.

To forget one's stick at a neighbor's house is a worrisome thing. It is to be feared that the stick will be used for magic procedures against the owner of the forgotten object.

787 If your heart beats as if it were about to break in the chest, it is a sign that someone is speaking ill of you somewhere.

If your chest feels heavy, if you feel ill in the stomach, it is a sign that your sister-in-law is pregnant and will become a mother.

An itching felt at the spot where a drop of blood was taken to seal a friendship pact is a certain portent of the blood-brother's death.

789 691 In order to help a litigant's suit along, his relatives wrap a mwishwa stalk around his chair. /415/ During the proceedings of the case, a member of the family sits on the chair and sweeps all around it, as if to ward off an evil spell. For even greater certainty of success, one also places under the chair the whetting stone (ityazo), which is called "obstacle" (ikinanira) in sorcerers' terms. This symbolic act has the function of stripping away all the effectiveness of the other side's testimony and evidence. "Their words will go with the wind" (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), as popular belief has it.

[273] The plaintiff, on his part, must abstain from drinking beer made with bananas of the kind called iginyambiba or igihuna. Thanks to such precautions, he will have every chance of success.

784 824 There also exist taboo plants and shrubs. Mwange (umwange) is a plant with a symbolic and meaningful name derived from a verb (kwanga), which means "to hate, to detest, not to like." Girls must never touch it when gathering dry twigs or dead wood for the hearth, for fear of... remaining spinsters. Old women alone have ceased to fear it and do not hesitate to use it for their cooking needs (1).

585 842 After this ceremony one of the young husband's sisters grinds flour, makes millet mush, and distributes it among the small children. This is done in order to guarantee the young couple numerous progeny. The same girl prepares food for the young wife on the following day.

585 782 The marriage ceremonies are concluded with the sacrifice of a goat. After the children have eaten their millet mush, the head of the family says: "We are going to eat." The guest reply that the women would like to wash their hands. The women do not agree with this and say: "We shall eat after the men have finished." Then the head of the family has a goat brought to him. After this is done, the guests look at the goat critically and say that it is not beautiful enough. Then another is fetched. This, also, does not satisfy the demands of those present. Then a third one is brought. This can be accepted if it is beautiful. After the goat has been accepted, it is beaten with a stick while being driven to the bridegroom's house. It is killed near his bed with kicks and blows, not with a knife in the usual way.

This ceremony supposedly indicates how the wife would have been treated if this sacrifice had not been made. According to another version [223], it means that the woman should be as soft and yielding as the goat that had all its bones broken. The meat must be divided among those present, otherwise the marriage would be childless. The men eat it on the same day; the women take it home for the children, because in Mulera they themselves may not eat goat's meat.

585 The men eat the meat along with millet mush. After everyone has eaten and drunk his fill, the guests disperse in the morning. The guests of the bridegroom accompany the guests of the bride for a short distance and honor them in this way.

The young husband soon returns, takes the firewood that has been prepared, and lights two fires at the places where the women and the men were seated. The bride goes out with the guests but immediately returns to her mother-in-law, where she remains. The mother-in-law prepares a meal, but the young bride refuses to eat it. The husband must persuade his hungry wife to do so by giving her presents.

In the evening the mother-in-law tries to prevail upon the wife to go to her husband's hut. The wife stubbornly resists yielding to

585 her husband, and there is a quarrel. It is proper for the man to show marks on his body which indicate to everyone that his wife bravely defended herself and did not yield like a hussy. However, the man may not be strong enough to break the wife's resistance with force, and he must then persuade her with presents to eat and to yield to him.

After the marriage, the woman must remain hidden for a time, that is, until her relatives come with gifts of beer, food, and bracelets. This visit usually takes place on the third day. On this occasion mats are brought along which the young wife made at home. She may chat with her relatives, the young girls who brought the mats. On this day there is dancing, singing, and much drinking.

Some time afterwards the parents again send their daughter presents. Among these, besides food, is a brand new hoe with a new handle. On this day the wife dances with her husband and the new hoe while the rest of the relatives sing an accompaniment. The wife then goes to the field for the first time and works a little. Until this day, called kushishura, the man has no sexual intercourse with his other wives. After the hoeing, grains of millet [842] are brought to the young woman. A handful is scattered on a mat, and she must pick them up with one sweep of her hand. If she fails, the prospects of numerous progeny are poor. She and her husband together grind these grains and use the flour to make beer which they give to small children in order that they themselves will have children.

841 [224] During the first menstrual period after her marriage, 291 the woman is given the cowhide which constitutes the dress of 302 married women, and her head is shaved. However, since girls are 585 not infrequently married before they are mature, it often happens that the wife goes about with her masunzu (shaved pattern) for a long time, waiting for the cowhide. Father F. Dufays told me that he knows of a case where a wife waited eight months for her cowhide, but it is said that the wife sometimes waits as long as two years.

841 Thus, a superstitition has arisen about the shaved pattern on 302 the head. According to it, if a wife does not give up her maiden 585

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

58[illegible] In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in
[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

842 It is obvious that if a large number of children brings the father influence and possessions and insures the existence of the whole group, there is no reason for the use of devices which limit the number of children. However, contraceptives are known. Father Schumacher (2) says: "The juice of the muhoko bush,

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 894.

mixed with a small amount of water, is taken as a contraceptive; strong doses are taken to commit suicide. As a superstitious but 'infallible' remedy, the mother who wishes to prevent her daughter's disgrace uses the latter's first menstrual blood. She catches this and allows it to dry on any kind of material. She keeps it, or, for example, she may tie the rag on her foot (the numerous butega hide it). After this is done, conception is impossible, no matter what the girl manages to do."

847 If a nursing mother becomes pregnant, she has an abortion out of consideration for the child. The operation is performed by a smith and is said to be done mechanically and not with internal remedies.

[231] The same thing happens when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant. If the abortion is unsuccessful and the girl has the child, it is often killed by being allowed to starve.

Death. If a person dies in a house, the nearest relatives are assembled, and a pole is provided on which the body is tied when it is transported to the grave. The body must not be kept very long in the hut.

The women mourn the deceased, and all clothing, bracelets, and leg rings are removed from the corpse. The body is put in a crouching position with arms and legs bent, rubbed with butter, and wrapped in mats (virago) with no gifts added. Moreover, the Batutsi shave the head of the body, but the Bahutu do not do this.

In Kissaka the deceased is either buried in the banana grove or thrown into a papyrus swamp, according to his wishes. In Nduga bodies are usually thrown into the swamps. In places where there are no papyrus swamps, they are covered with a layer of earth. In Mulera it is a common custom to bury the Bahutu. The

614 842 Since the groups involved in this arrangement are small and conditions simple and clear, no one can forget that the welfare of the individual is directly dependent on the welfare of the clan. Hence everyone is very much concerned that the clan appear powerful to the outside world. It must be as large as possible and always ready for war. No effort must be spared to achieve this; otherwise the members of the clan have no protection against plunder, impoverishment, and even complete extinction. The man as well as the woman must be considered from this point of view, and producing children is, therefore, the most important duty of the individual. This explains the completely unenviable position of the childless woman. For the same reason, sons whose descendants will augment the number of clan members are preferred to a daughter, even though one can always trade her for a cow.

614 563 The importance of the clan's strength and fighting fitness, even today in Bugoye, was convincingly demonstrated to me by the fate of my Muhutu informant's father. Several years ago their clan was scattered by advancing Batutsi. Only his father remained on the old clan property, along with the [234] children and his uncle. Since there were only a few men in both families and they were too weak to defend themselves, the Batutsi simply settled on the land and indulged in all kinds of suppressive measures against the weaker farmers. At the time of my visit, for example, they took away a whole hut and carried it to their settlement, instead of building a new one for themselves.

614 628 Every individual is under the protection of the clan. This makes it possible for a person to lead a more or less secure existence. Clan organization represents a sort of social guarantee which is directed primarily against the misdeeds of fellow tribesmen who do not belong to the clan.

614 627 Moreover, the clan exercises control over its members, and, if serious offenses are committed by individuals who endanger the interests of the clan, they can even be exiled.

614 627 428 The clan may also interfere in family matters and, above all, in disputes about inheritances. Although the father can dispose of his property as he sees fit, nevertheless his decisions presuppose the tacit approval of the clan. If the interests of the clan are

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Firstly, all these ceremonies did not take place when the bride had already been married before or when the girl had been struck by lightning because, as I was told, she was considered to have been raped by the king (thunder being one of the symbols of the king). Secondly, the spreading of the herbs and milk mixture had to be done by surprise and the girl had to cry immediately afterwards. Thirdly, in the first intercourse the girl had to struggle and penetration had to be achieved by force.

For about ten or twelve days the young couple lived semi-secluded in a hut in the groom's father's homestead. Then, at the end of that period, there was another ritual celebration (*gutwikurura*) attended by those who were present at the marriage. The central rite of the ceremony was a dance by the new couple in public. After that, the young wife was allowed to cook for her husband for the first time. The latter was given by his father his share of inheritance, and the couple settled in a compound of their own. Residence was occasionally neolocal but usually patrivirilocal (at the HuFa's).

(*d*) *Polygynous unions*

Ruanda may be said to be a polygynous society in two senses. Firstly, polygynous unions were culturally preferred. Secondly, probably thirty per cent. of the unions were polygynous.[7] It was no grand scale polygyny. A man rarely had more than four wives. Usually a polygynous Tutsi had two wives, a Hutu three or four, and a Twa two.

Supplementary wives were an economic asset for rich people, as a Tutsi having herds of cattle in different places found it very useful to be able to put a wife in each of his homesteads as manager; but if he had only such cattle as he could care for himself, a second wife was an expense. It was the same for a Hutu: if he had so many plots that he could not cultivate them all by himself and with the help of his wife, a second one was very useful. If not, she was rather expensive.

To have several wives was also to have many children, which were very highly valued by all Ruanda. For Tutsi occupying very high positions, plural union was a means of establishing useful

[7] 'Any society in which plural unions, however strongly favoured, actually occur in less than this percentage [set arbitrarily at 20 per cent.] of all marriages, is considered monogamous with respect to the family [. . .]' (Murdock, 1949, p. 28).

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The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called
594 by the same name, rugo. I have described earlier this complex dwelling place composed of intersecting circular enclosures. In
[592] the case of rich people, their clients during their time of service
[559] and their servants had huts in the compound.

The compound, surrounded by fields and banana-groves, and not far from pastures, was situated on that part of the paternal homestead given by the father to his son at the latter's wedding. If the father's homestead was not large enough to provide all his sons with areas to live on, the young couple either had to ask the political authority to allocate them a plot, or they had to rent one belonging either to a relative or an unrelated person.

595 The ideal type of residence of a polygynous family was a compound for each wife surrounded by its own cultivated area. These rugo could be on the same homestead or on several homesteads. The latter arrangement was more frequent with Tutsi than with Hutu. None of these compounds was more important than the others, except occasionally. The husband had no rugo regarded as being more his residence than the others.

Between these two sharply different types of family organization, there were intermediate kinds. If it happened that a Ruanda wanted a second wife, he looked for one even if he could not afford a second compound. She lived then in the same compound as the first wife, in a separate hut. But such an arrangement was regarded as unfortunate, and should be assimilated to that of a nuclear family notwithstanding the plurality of wives.

121 We will now consider whether and how these types of organization fulfilled the functions that might be expected of any type of family, for some of these functions seem to be fulfilled by all the family structures known, and the others by most of them. The points to be considered are: sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction, socialization, and ritual.

### (a) *Sexual relations*

581 The Ruanda distinguish the sexual from the procreational function of marriage. Neither the husband, nor apparently the wife, ever feared (except in very unhappy circumstances of poverty) that pregnancy might result from any particular act of
● [842] intercourse; on the contrary such an event was usually longed for. As some informants said, why have relations with a sterile woman? Sexuality, however, had for them a value in itself.

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Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted.

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions.

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society.

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10]

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1935, pp. 85-86.

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cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

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woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases).

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child.

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives.

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviqur change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
562 differences among the various castes and of much the same content.
564 Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads
[482] burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically
[165] the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.
562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

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581 Rundi. Peace is always desirable but rarely achieved. The frequent
593 absence of the husband does not seem to diminish the tensions and problems of domestic life. There is a host of reasons to quarrel, to fight, to separate for several days or forever.

593 A man will be angry with his wife if she has drunk up all his beer, if she has not prepared dinner for him, if she has left the house without his permission, if she has invited company without permission, if she has not done the work he has told her to do, if he comes back home to find her in bed with another man. One quarrel need not destroy a marriage. However, a man is considered perfectly within his rights to send away a woman who is consistently disobedient and lazy, who insults her husband and parents-in-law, who does not offer food and drink to her husband's visitors while he is away from home. A woman suspected of witchcraft will be packed off at the first possible moment. A sterile woman will be retained only in the exceptional case: a man gives the bride-price to have children. Among the Tutsi, a woman who takes the milk to drink for herself instead of churning it into butter for her husband will be humiliated and sent away. Her father-in-law will invite her father to drink beer. Then, he asks the offending woman "to show the butter to the bull", who has been led into the yard for this little "ceremony". She has no butter to show. Her father, furious and humiliated, will take her back home and will punish her. Finally, a talkative woman who discusses her husband's business with strangers will certainly be sent back home. Towards a woman who speaks against her husband, who is engaged in intrigue against him, a husband will have no pity. She will be beaten within an inch of her life and sent back to her father—unless she has been clever enough to succeed in a plot that ruins her husband utterly, while she has arranged to be married afterward by his richer and more powerful enemy.

[895] [754] [842] 583

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On her side, a woman does not have to put up with a husband who eats so much of what she has cooked that nothing is left for her, nor with a husband who does not eat what she cooks. Does he think, she wants to know, that she is going to poison him, or is it that he prefers the cooking of his mother or sister-in-law? A man who praises other women need not imagine that his wife will stay with him for long, particularly if she is a Tutsikazi. If he has money and does not give his wife clothes, she will surely become angry. If all her children die, the woman will fear her mother-in-law's sorcery and will leave. If the husband consistently overworks her, if he beats her too much and without legitimate reason, she will go back home. Sometimes the marriage does not last the four days of

## *Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values*

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

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[5]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dons le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954.

[6]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights.

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi.

[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred.

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society.

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups.

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.*

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste.

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956.

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three.

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer.

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light.

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help.

[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy.

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system.



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